The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 1 Nashville, Tennessee, November, 1943 No. 11

TRENDS

Senator Reynolds of North Carolina announced he will not run for re-election next year. In spite of his undisguised fascist leanings, Reynolds continues as chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, a disgrace to the South and to a Nation at war. Returning from a visit to Hitler's Germany, Reynolds said, "The dictators are doing what is best for their people. . . ."

"Senator Reynolds," said Gerald L. K. Smith in offering him the nomination for President on the America First Party ticket next year, "is a symbol of what we stand for."

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A new "Directory of Consumer Cooperatives in the U. S." by the Bureau of Labor Statistics lists 4,500 local consumer coops engaged in 62 different fields of activity and handling 32 different kinds of commodities.

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Repeal of state segregation laws applying to public transportation was advocated by Virginius Dabney, editor of the RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, in an editorial headed "To Lessen Race Friction." Mr. Dabney pointed out how thousands of times each day on crowded buses Negroes "must force their way to the rear through a mass of white people, and in the case of oneman cars force their way back to the front again.

"Segregation of the races," said Mr. Dabney, "on railway trains and cross-country bus lines has been abandoned to a considerable degree, both in Virginia and other Southern states, and it seems definitely on the way out. We have heard of no unfortunate results. Why, then, should not the segregation laws for cross-town trolleys and buses be eliminated? The fact is they should be, and without delay."

Every American household wastes at least one slice of bread a week, a total of 100,000,000 loaves a week. Food left on Restaurant plates would feed 3,000,000 soldiers. Conserve food!

(Continued on Page 3.)

Distinguished Citizens Of the South Encourage Tobacco Workers

Dixie's two billion dollar Tobacco Trust had one more headache this month as distinguished citizens of the South sent public declarations of encouragement and support to the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers, CIO, in its current campaign to organize the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Dr. Ralph E. Wager

"The philosophy that business exists for profits to make more business to make more profits and to crush out the lives of men, women, and children in the process is a self-destructive one," Dr. Ralph E. Wager, professor of education at Emory University, Ga., said in his letter to the union addressed to its office, 319 First National Bank Building, Winston-Salem. "In the South, labor is just beginning its effort to stabilize itself. It is shortsighted to stigmatize this effort and to call it by bad names. It will make no more blunders than has industry. Both have rights which must be respected. But if industry is to thrive, it will do so only as it learns to share and to cooperate."

But the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, makers of Camel Cigarettes, Prince Albert Tobacco, and other popular brands—was disposed neither to "share" nor "cooperate". Using the weapons of a company union, two court injunctions, and appeals to race prejudice, the company attempted to block unionization and an orderly National Labor Relations Board election among its 12,000 workers.

Judge Louise O. Charlton

"The unions have been foremost in establishing our standard of living," wrote Judge Louise O. Charlton, United States Commissioner and beloved women's leader of Birmingham, Ala., "the great bulk of our remedial legislation, the improved conditions of health, sanitation and housing; the abolition of child labor and the concern for women in industry, for the mothers of our coming generations.

"I remember back yonder in 1933 and 34 when a certain Austrian paperhanger succeeded in his evil designs by the abolition of labor unions in the country which he has deluded.

"The labor unions in this country," Judge Charlton continued, "both craft and industrial, have been potent factors in the long evolution of man from his conditions of slavery, poverty and ignorance, those deplorable conditions made possible in the first place by the greed, rapacity and callousness of his fellow-man. 'Man's inhumanity to man' has been eradicated in large measure through and by the labor union. This is my unshakable conviction, and one which the passing years only serve to strengthen."

Dr. Clark Foreman

"In my experience the CIO has been among the most liberal and progressive groups of worker organizations," wrote Dr. Clark Foreman, of Black Mountain, N. C., president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It has undertaken to represent the work-

(Continued on Page 2.)

Citizens of the South Support Organized Labor

(Continued from Page 1.)

ers as workers without un-American discriminations because of race, creed or color. As such an American institution it deserves much greater recognition in our state. I hope that it will continue to win support and continue to be a force for freedom and fair-play."

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune

Letters were received by the union from both white and colored leaders. "As president of the National Council of Negro Women," wrote Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, president emeritus of Bethune-Cookman College, Florida, "representing 800,000 *women of this country, we feel very deeply the responsibility to accept the democratic way of trade unionism, not from a spirit of perpetrating racial discord and clashes, but rather as a sound means of avoiding such clashes. We, therefore, look with great favor upon the democratic concept of the rights of American workers to bargain collectively, because we feel it works effectively for the ultimate good of the employer, the employee and for our American way of life."*

Dr. Harold A. Ehrensperger

The necessity for unions as a democratic factor in our economic life, was a theme constantly stressed. "It is my firm conviction," said Dr. Harold A. Ehrensperger, of Nashville, Tennessee, Editor of *Motive* and leader of Methodist youth, "that the principle of collective bargaining and the right of workers to freely join a union of their own choice are as basic to a democracy as the Four Freedoms. In this the principle churches back me up." And in the same vein wrote the Rev. Walter L. Russell, pastor of the Trinity Methodist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, "During these recent years of industrial confusion and strife, I have had occasion, because of my interest in people, to come in contact with various labor leaders and groups of people in labor organizations. These contacts have convinced me that organized labor takes its place in our democracy and any attempt to crush it is harmful to our way of life."

Tarleton Collier

Two prominent representatives of the field of journalism added their voices. "It has been brought to my attention," said Mr. Tarleton Collier of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, Louisville, Ky., that the CIO is being attacked as promoting discord and particularly racial disturbances. I cannot but deplore this effort to circumvent the peaceful processes of the Nation's labor laws and especially the distortion of facts concerning the organization involved. . . . I hope sincerely that this opposition will not prevail and that the opponents themselves will come to see the stability and the constructive value of the organization as contemplated. And also that the day will soon pass when racial fears and prejudice may be invoked in the South to serve any and all ends."

P. B. Young

And from Mr. P. B. Young, president and publisher of The *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Va., came the following: "The labor union movement is as essential to democracy as the manufacturers association, the retail merchants association, or the chamber of commerce. . . . As far as my observations go, the CIO is an orderly, constructive factor in the present labor movement. In my opinion, it is in step with inevitable changes for the betterment of our economic order."

Dr. Alva W. Taylor

A Hearing Officer for the War Labor Board, Dr. Alva W. Taylor, of Nashville, Tenn., said, "I have found in my work with the War Labor Board that the CIO is thoroughly American, asks nothing of us except what the law allows, presents their case with good temper and factually and in all things, insofar as my experience in a number of cases with them goes, their efforts to unionize or to obtain better contracts have been reasonable, peaceful, able and in every way patriotic and have asked nothing more than what the law allows."

A. P. Kephardt

However, Mr. A. P. Kephardt, of the Out-of-Door School, Sarasota, Fla., took the opposite position. "Union leaders," he said, "should be able to see that the events of the past year in union relations to coal mining have discredited unionism beyond recovery and have convinced the American people that union loyalty comes before loyalty to country and to any accepted ideals which should guide personal and group relationships."

The Rev. Edward Maxted

Unions benefit the employer as well as the worker, according to the Rev. Edward Maxted, retired Episcopalian minister of Warrington, Fla., who says, "I think that every worker should join his union, and that all far-seeing and fair-minded employers should welcome a union and work with it."

Dr. Fleming James

"It is my belief," said Dean Fleming James, School of Theology, University of the South, "dating back some twenty-five years, that labor unions constitute a strong constructive force in the economic and political life of our nation. . . I have found that in questions relating to the welfare of the poor people of this country, they have generally been on the side of helping the poor. They have generally been promoters of enlightened social legislation, and they are in favor of education and equal opportunities for all. . . It happens that my contacts have been mainly with leaders of the CIO and I have come to respect them on the whole highly. I also have the same feeling for the leaders of the AFL, although I have not had so many dealings with them."

Trends

In an unprecedented move, the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N. C., through a phoney employees' association got the Forsyth County Superior Court to enjoin the Natl. Labor Relations Board from holding an election scheduled for Nov. 18-19. Frank Hargrove, Chmn. of UCAPAWA Tobacco Workers Organizing Committee, denounced the move as a thwarting of workers' rights and a defiance of the federal government. Regional NLRB Dir. W. M. Aicher announced compliance "in the interests of orderliness" but added that the NLRB "will act immediately to make sure that Reynolds employees will be able to exercise their rights just as these rights have been exercised by 4½ million other workers."

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A Southeastern states organizing drive by the National Farmers Union will be in charge of Aubrey Williams, former NYA Administrator and recently named National Director of Organization for the Farmers Unions by James Patton, President.

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Two hundred and thirty-four representatives of all branches of organized labor met in Little Rock Nov. 21 to organize the Arkansas Voters League. Odell Smith, president of the Little Rock Central Trades Council, was elected president of the League. The executive board of 10 members will include two representatives from the Railway Brotherhoods, the AFL, CIO, Farmers Union, and the Typographical Union. A similar organization meeting for political and legislative action was held in Phoenix, Ariz., with 150 delegates representing 55,000 organized workers. Leaders included Pres. Wade Church of the Ariz. Fed. of Labor; John D. Lacker, state CIO; Mrs. L. L. Moore, BofLF&E Auxiliary.

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Wendell Willkie told a Dallas audience that they must develop "an increasingly intelligent understanding of the problems of labor" if they want to realize their hopes of becoming a great industrial state. Without mentioning it by name, Willkie attacked the Manford Act recently passed by the Texas Legislature, which prohibits union organizing activities by unregistered agents. R. J. Thomas, president of the the United Rubber Workers CIO, is now under a jail sentence for an alleged violation of the act. Problems of industry will not be settled, said Willkie, by "repressive legislation" and "obvious violation of fundamental civil liberties."

The British Trades Union Congress has called a conference of the labor organizations of 38 allied and neutral nations to take place in London next June. The tentative agenda: furtherance of the allied war effort, the peace settlement with trade union representation, world rehabilitation, reconstruction of the international trade union movement.

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In August alone 39,550,000 man days were lost in American industry because of sickness, accidents, and personal reasons; more than five times the loss from strikes during the first eight months of the year!

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In a letter to Atty. Gen. Biddle, President Roosevelt made it clear that Executive Order 9346 requiring insertion of a non-discrimination clause in all war contracts was not a "directive" as claimed by Comptroller Gen. Lindsay Warren, but "mandatory." Warren's interpretation would scuttle the FEPC.

". . . the prosecution of the war," said the President, "demands that we utilize fully all available manpower and that the discrimination by war industries against persons for any of the reasons named in the order is detrimental to the prosecution of the war and is opposed to our national democratic purposes."

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"In my opinion, that agreement (Moscow Pact) will prove just as important to the winning of this war as a major military victory," said William Green of the AFL to a huge Madison Square Garden meeting under the direction of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

"Fortified by complete unity of spirit and purpose," Mr. Green added, "the United Nations can now march forward hand in hand to finish the job destroying Nazism and Fascism in the shortest possible time. We must and shall do this within the coming year."

William Buchanan, city marshal of Walnut Ridge, Ark., accused of assaulting and abusing a labor organizer, Hobson Abernathy, was placed on probation for a year when he entered a plea of nolo contendere before Federal Judge Thomas G. Trimble. The case was the first application of the Federal Civil Rights Statute to assault on a labor representative by local police authorities. Mr. Abernathy is business agent of Hod Carriers Local 1441 in Memphis. The alleged assault took place at Walnut Ridge in 1942.

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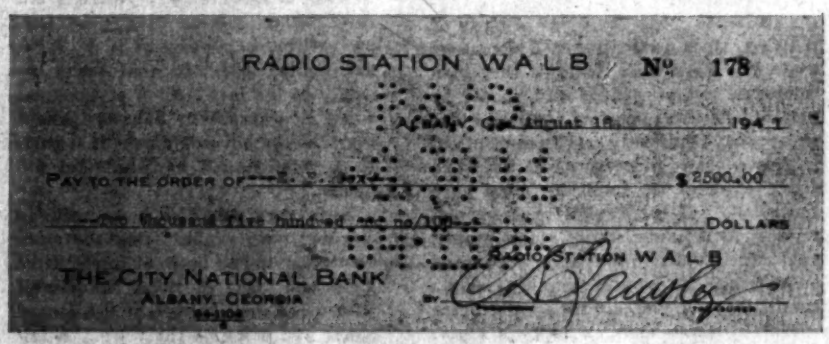
Reversing a lower court, the Florida Supreme Court held that closed shop contracts were not contrary to public policy nor in violation of the state constitution, bringing to an unsuccessful end, Atty. Gen. Tom Watson's effort to break the AFL contract with the Tampa Shipbuilding Co. and other plants. "Furthermore," said the court in answer to another of Watson's claims, "we find no proof that compliance with the contract has resulted in a retardation of the war effort."

• • •

We salute Mr. Clifford J. Durr, Federal Communications Commissioner from Alabama, who entered the lists against Martin Dies to defend Dr. Goodwin Watson, an FCC employee that Dies sought to purge. More recently Mr. Durr waged a one man crusade against Congressman Cox of Georgia, forcing that gentleman's resignation as Chairman of a Committee to investigate the FCC. Cox's real motivation in that investigation may be judged from the fact that his bill to set up the investigation was introduced shortly after the FCC had publicized his having received an illegal fee of $2,500 from a Georgia radio station for representing it before the FCC. The next step is up to the Department of Justice which should present the facts to a grand jury.


RADIO STATION WALB No. 178

Albany, Ga. August 18, 1941

PAY TO THE ORDER OF [illegible] $2500.00

[illegible] Dollars

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK
ALBANY, GEORGIA

RADIO STATION WALB

By [signature]

Photostatic copy of check for $2,500 received by poll taxer Cox of Georgia from Radio Station WALB for representing it before the Federal Communications Commission. It is a criminal act for a Congressman to receive a fee for representing a client before a Federal agency.

Letters to The PATRIOT

YANK IN AFRICA PROUD OF AMERICAN WORKERS

To The Editor:

This should be labor day in the U. S. And even here in North Africa it is fitting to celebrate the occasion, though the celebration is of necessity limited to a can of "B" rations and grapes from these beautiful vineyards.

On this hill, which for its beauty reminds me of middle Tennessee, and yet reminds me of the Grim Reaper because of its slit trenches, this day takes on added significance. The production of our American industry and labor will be the winning force in this war. In every aspect of this fight for freedom the work of American people is visible. Jeeps and tanks, trucks, planes, food—all of these could not be possible without the magnificent support of the American workingman and woman and the trade union movement. And because of this I am rightfull proud of my attachment to the trade union movement and its friends.

Yours for victory,
CPL. MARTIN WATKINS

* * *

FSA HELPS RURAL SOUTH

To The Editor:

. . . I like the things you are doing in this paper and I especially want to thank you for your excellent setting-forth of the work that the Farm Security Administration is doing. As I see it, this is the organization we have been hoping for for many years to do something constructive with the very great group in our rural population that most needs help.

(Rev.) EARL E. WHITE
Pleasant Hill, Tenn.

* * *

ADVOCATES A LABOR PRESS

To The Editor:

. . . I note that President Murray of the C. I. O. is advocating a Union news medium. Personally I think this plan would fill a crying need and should be put into effect as soon as possible. The press today is abjectly servile to moneyed interests. It is in no sense of the word free. It does not fulfill its mission to the people. It betrays its trust by distorting facts and deceiving the people, and therein fails to live up to its sacred obligations. So long as this is true, we cannot have a well informed electorate except by establishing a people's press.

I am quite in accord with the democratic principles the PATRIOT sponsors.

JOHN F. HOYT
New Hampshire.

LABOR LIKES PATRIOT

To The Editor:

Our Congress has voted to make a subscription of $5.00 to your splendid work. . . .

The educational program is almost as badly needed here as in the South, so we are hoping to kill two birds with this money.

LEROY JONES, Secretary
Clinton Labor Congress
Iowa.

* * *

WORKERS SHOULD READ PATRIOT

To The Editor:

Inclosed find $1.00 for which please send as many copies of your August PATRIOT as you can. I think that as many people that are in the working ranks of the workers of the Nation with a teaspoonful of brains should read this paper, and I think they will read it if they get possession of it. . . .

PETER E. KREMP
Oklahoma.

* * *

READ; THEN ACT

To The Editor:

. . . I try to make it a rule that for every minute I put into reading ten minutes must be spent in doing something about it. I agree very much with whoever said that 'an idea which doesn't result in some action is simply an abortion.' If we don't get some idea for some kind of action when we read, then we had just as well go fishing and forget we belong to the human race. And reaction will applaud you as a sage.

J. H. JENSEN
Los Angeles, Calif.

* * *

THE CLERGY DIVIDED

Most of our readers received our form letter accompanying the Senate petition in support of H. R. 7, the anti-polltax bill. In that letter we said, "In the last session of Congress a few Southern Tory Senators, knowing that the bill would pass if it came to a vote, staged a disgraceful filibuster."

By a rare coincidence we received one day, two replies from the same Kentucky town, both of them from ministers. One of them had circled with a red pencil the sentence quoted above and opposite the words "a few Southern Tory Senators"—had written, "I'M for them 100%".

The other clergyman had signed the petition without comment.

THE ETHICS OF USEFUL WORK

To The Editor:

. . . We are all working to build something useful, which through the medium of currency we take to a storehouse. We receive a receipt (currency) which we may exchange for something in the storehouse—some articles which we may require.

The fault with this today is that this receipt (currency) may be obtained by other means than the moral one of having delivered something useful into this storehouse. . . . Today we are experiencing something of an innovation in this exchange business in the form of our ration cards. As individuals we should question ourselves. Are we putting something useful into the storehouse?

A. J. EMERY
Brooklyn, N. Y.

* * *

COMMENDS PATRIOT TO STUDENTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Professor W. A. Robinson, Director Secondary School Study, Atlanta University, thinks so highly of The PATRIOT that he has sent out 100 copies of the October issue to a selected list of social science teachers. In his covering letter, Professor Robinson wrote, "In this fight for a democratic America, the SOUTHERN PATRIOT is one of the best sources of information on Southern problems that is available to us."

"There's nothing to be afraid of. I've been sending Congressmen telegrams for years."

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The Southern PATRIOT

November 1943
Volume 1 Number 11

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Published monthly by The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 506-507 Presbyterian Building, Nashville, Tennessee. Ten cents a copy, $1.00 a year. Twenty or more copies mailed to the same address, 25c a year. Entered as second class matter, November 20, 1942, at the Postoffice, Nashville, Tennessee, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Restore the Free Ballot

The American people of the Southern states, workers, share croppers, and all champions of democracy, fighting to pass H. R. 7, the anti-poll tax bill, were heartened this month by two more victories. On Nov. 12 by a vote of 12 to 6 the Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported the bill out favorably. And three days later the Committee voted down 9 to 8 Senator O'Mahoney's proposal of a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax. Such an amendment would delay action on this issue for many years, which explains why it has the support of Senators Connally of Texas and Bilbo of Mississippi, who want to keep the poll tax.

But the main battle lies ahead. O'Mahoney's constitutional amendment must be defeated; the filibuster by Southern Senators must be broken.

Write your Senators to vote *against all amendments to H. R. 7, against any substitute measure* such as O'Mahoney's constitutional amendment; and to *vote for Cloture Rule, and for H. R. 7.* If you are a citizen of a Southern state, tell your Senators plainly what you think of a filibuster.

Opposition to the anti-poll tax bill is expressed by Representative Gathers (D., Ark.) on the ground that it is an "encroachment on states' rights." In the next breath, however, he says it is "white supremacy" that he is concerned about.

"We cannot have white supremacy in Arkansas," Gathings is reported to have said in a letter to T. J. Crowley, division chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Paragould, Ark., "and at the same time acquiesce in a Federal Act which would abrogate state election laws."

We suspect that Representative Gathings' primary concern is not with either of these two issues, but is really a concern with limiting the number of people who vote, whether white or colored. Eight poll tax Congressmen are elected by as few as one per cent of their constituency. It is much easier for Gene Cox of Georgia to line up 3,700 voters than the 110,000 votes cast for each of 38 other Congressmen from non-poll tax states.

The poll tax was hung around our necks in the first place not to keep the Negro from voting, but for the express purpose of discouraging poor people from voting. These taxes were initiated in the nineties as a device of the politicians to defeat the powerful Populist Movement.

★ ★ ★

Shall the Negro Vote?

Negroes are Americans too. Even now they give their lives freely to preserve the Democracy that some people would deny them. And they pay taxes. In other times Americans have spilled their blood to maintain the principle that taxation without representation is tyrrany.

To deny the Negro a vote is to deny him the rights of citizenship. To deny citizenship to a minority group because of race, religion or national origin is to destroy the precious American tradition of equal opportunities for all—without which Freedom and Democracy have little meaning.

If we believe in Democracy, let's practice it. If we don't believe in Democracy, we are fighting on the wrong side in this war.

★ ★ ★

There is a simple answer to the question of "States' rights." We have a Supreme Court to decide constitutional questions. It is not the business of Congress to usurp the power of that Court.

★ ★ ★

Can We Let Land Owners Be Tax Free But Not Voters?

We are indebted to Mr. J. Rupert Mason, of San Francisco, for an interesting letter on "states' rights." "Where," asks Mr. Mason, "were these brave defenders of "states' rights" when the hearings preceding 11 USCA. 301-304 took place? There was not one." This law permitted land owners to retain title to their land even though they evaded payment of taxes in accordance with state laws. In 1937 the Supreme Court held this law "trespassed on states' rights," whereupon the real estate interests got Congress to pass the very same law again (11 USCA. 401-404). In 1941 this law was held to be valid by the Supreme Court.

> "The basic question," writes Mr. Mason, "of federal vs. state powers is the same, as regards poll taxes or ad-valorem taxes on land. Now that Congress has the power to permit owners of land to keep the land, and get out of paying state taxes due on it, it is indefensible to contend that Congress would exceed its authority in passing H. R. 7. Unless, of course, it is to be the law in our nation that only landlords may enjoy the voting franchise.
>
> "Clearly, that result would negate the ideal set forth in our Declaration of Independence."

'Quotes'

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN. By CAREY MCWILLIAMS. Little Brown & Co., Boston. 325 pp.; $3.00

* * *

It is pre-eminently our assignment to demonstrate to the world that peoples of diverse backgrounds and many cultures, can live and work together in a modern democracy. . . . Our unique position constitutes both our strength and our weakness. If we fail in the world, we fail at home; if we fail at home, we are not likely to succeed in the world.

Dr. Goebbels once remarked that 'nothing will be easier than to produce revolution in America. No other country has so many social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many strings there. North America is a medley of races.'

America's constitution, like Christianity, argues FORTUNE, *is based on the principle that every man is born with the inalienable right to equality of opportunity. Whether or not this assumption is realistic—we must stick to it or change sides.*

* * *

By insisting that these (colored) groups present race problems only in the sense that their 'visibility' makes them readily recognizable, their problems can also be related to those of underprivileged non-colored groups.

* * *

The maternal death rate among Negroes is 3 times that among whites. Only 7.4% of the native whites have had less than 5 years' schooling; but 41.3% of the Negroes have had less than 7 years in school. The Negro death rate is 32% higher than that of the rest of the population, the Negro's life expectancy is 11 years less than that of his white neighbor, and his total of daily sickness is 43% greater than for white Americans. Negro tuberculosis is 2.6 times that of whites in the South and 5.3 times that of whites in the North.

* * *

Enforce the Bill of Rights

The first step which Congress should take is to enforce—to implement—the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This action should take the form of re-enacting a new federal civil rights statute. . . . It should be termed, not a civil-rights statute, but a Fair Racial Practice Act. It should follow the pattern of the National Labor Relations Act and its enforcement should be delegated to a similar administrative agency.

NRPB REPORT

Strong on Facts—Weak on Cultural Explanations

REGIONAL PLANNING PART XI—THE SOUTHEAST. By NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD. Washington, D. C. United States Government Printing Office, 1942. 250 pp.; $0.55

The Report of the National Resources Planning Board on the Southeastern States contains important detailed information about the physical and technological resources of the area. Here is a surprisingly complete catalogue of facts about agriculture, water and mineral resources, forestry, business and industry, education, public health, housing, recreation, and Government and public administration. In 250 pages of double-column Government print are the facts about all of these things, with appropriate maps and tables. Particularly appropriate are the descriptions of conditions in each of 15 sub-areas of the Southeast, and the adjustments which will need to be made for the agricultural enterprise to become more adequate in each of the sub-areas. The trends since 1939 in practically every one of these sub-regions had been in the direction of long-term desirable trends, that is, a smaller number of farms, fewer acres in cotton, increase of livestock, soil-building crops, and so on.

Population figures by age, sex, and race are adequate, as are also the discussions of the potential number of people available for agriculture and industry, and some suggestions about their relative skills. There are good discussions of the prevalence, and physical meaning, of malaria, hook worm, tuberculosis, and the like. But no consideration is given to cultural effects of low wages, landlessness, and votelessness.

Anyone interested in current facts about the Southeast will certainly want a copy of this Report at his elbow. But if he wants to have available *all* of the facts about the Southeast, he will need close at hand, too, such books as Howard W. Odum's SOUTHERN REGIONS, Rupert P. Vance's HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH, Charles S. Johnson's PATTERNS OF RACIAL SEGREGATION, Clarence H. Nixon's FORTY ACRES AND STEEL MULES, Gerald W. Johnson's WASTED LAND, and half a dozen other books by students of the South who deal realistically with farm tenancy, high crop production costs, low net incomes, and land tenure and race differentials as related to malnutrition, meager participation in community affairs, reliance on cotton, and depletion of soil fertility. A gully is a physical fact, so is pellagra, but both of these physical facts and many another have cultural backgrounds. Constructive planning will have to deal with the whole situation, including these cultural factors which lie back of physical facts.

The Regional Planning Board's Report on the Southeast is strong in its presentation of facts about physical resources—weak on underlying cultural explanations.

ARTHUR RAPER.

Help on the Home Front

HISTORY OF BIGOTRY IN THE UNITED STATES. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. Random House, New York; 504 pp., $3.50.

In this war for a free world we are fighting the ideas as well as the armies of Fascism.

Just how much headway Fascist propaganda has made in the United States can be found from reading John Roy Carlson's "Under Cover," a fitting manual for the defenders of American Democracy. (E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y., $3.50.) This is the sensational book that publisher Gannett tried to suppress and which is giving nightmares to certain Congressmen and Senators prominently mentioned in the book.

Another valuable aid on the home front is Gustavus Myers' "History of Bigotry in the United States." Here we find the dark story of intolerance, the seed of which Fascism is the fruit, traced from the witchburnings of colonial days to the crossburnings of our own years. The closing chapters give a good summary of the activities of contemporary American Fascists.

* * *

Inside Black America

'NEW WORLD A-COMING.' By ROI OTTLEY. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 364 pp., $3.00.

Here is a book about Harlem, the Capital of Black America. Each of the 23 chapters is an absorbing and dramatic story describing the work-a-day world of the Negro. The author is a newspaperman with the eye of artist. He has given us a compact little book of social fact that reads like a novel about a little known area of American life.

TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY AND DISCRIMINATORY RATES KEEP SOUTH AND WEST IN A COLONIAL STATUS*

By Vice President Henry Wallace

Out of our natural and industrial wealth we are producing the sinews of war, the purchase price of victory. We are meeting the challenge of war. We have yet to measure and meet the challenge of peace. Whether we shall preserve the essentials of our American life and build an abundance in which all men may share depends primarily and fundamentally upon the wisdom with which we organize and administer our resources. There is one simple key to the kind of domestic peace we must have. It is the full use of our physical and human resources to produce for a better standard of living. There must be no hidden strings, no unwarranted restraints on the freedom to use our productive facilities. But abundant production has only one destination, and that is abundant consumption. We must be as vigilant in maintaining the free flow of goods between producer and consumer as we are in maintaining the free flow of capital and invention into productive enterprise.

Railroads Fleece Consumer and Producer

The empire of the West and the South which has produced so much of the wealth of the nation has been drained dry by the tolls of monopolies, the most important of which is transportation. Consider what happened to the consumer's dollar spent for representative agricultural products in a typical year. Of every dollar paid by consumers for Texas onions, 28 cents went for transportation and 12 cents went to the farmers. In like manner, *out of every dollar spent for Texas cabbage, 36 cents went for transportation charges and 14 cents were paid to the farmers. The growers of Georgia and Carolina peaches received only 31 cents in each dollar paid by purchasers; the railroads and other transportation companies received 32 cents.* When Dallas consumers bought Idaho potatoes they paid 32 cents of each dollar to the growers and 27 cents for transportation; and of each dollar spent in Dallas chain stores for Pacific iceberg lettuce, 14 cents went to the growers at the packing house and 26 cents were required to pay for transportation. What is true of onions, cabbage, and peaches is also true of virtually everything the farmer grows. These disproportionate and high rates have limited consumption and have penalized the farmer for producing abundantly.

Private Rate Bureaus, Not ICC, Make Rates

Who makes these excessive rates? There is a widespread misconception that the Government or, more particularly, the Interstate Commerce Commission, prescribes each and every rate for public transportation. This is not the fact. In reality, the actual transportation charges, with few exceptions, are made by private rate bureaus and conferences of the carriers. In no year during the past ten years did the Interstate Commerce Commission review as many as 1 per cent of the tariffs filed with it; that is, more than 99 per cent of the tariffs filed became effective without action by the Commission.

Although competition in rate making is the national legislative policy, it is in fact as dead as the Dodo.

Through conspiracies between motor and rail carrier conferences, motor-carrier rates have been raised to the level of the rail rates. In thus eliminating all competition in rates, the public is deprived of the savings from cheap highway and water transport.

Not satisfied with eliminating competition in surface transportation, the railroads have even extended their control to the airways to prevent any competition from the carriage of air cargo. Through an exclusive contract between Railway Express Agency (which is owned by the railroads of the country) and the domestic airlines, air express rates have been maintained far above the competitive level, and the movement of cargo by air has been effectively retarded.

Despite the assertion of aviation authorities that cargo planes can be operated at 8 to 10 cents per ton mile, air express rates are artificially held at 80 cents per ton mile. This rate is five to seven times the rail express rate.

Discriminatory rates have helped keep the South and the West in a colonial status.

The people of the West and South have long fought against discriminatory freight rates.

Studies of various governmental agencies have fully supported the charge of discrimination. Packing houses in Chicago have been able to ship fresh beef to

* From an address at Dallas, Texas, Oct. 20.